

TRANSPERSONAL POTENTIALITIES OF DEEP HYPNOSIS

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I'm going to have to skim over a lot of hypnosis, but I want to make some points about where hypnosis is at today, but particularly where it can go if it gets out of the kind of constraint it's traditionally been put in by our culture.

Hypnosis got reintroduced under its current name into Western culture in the late 1700's with Anton Mesmer who thought it had something to do with animal magnetism. They had a lot of fun during those days wearing flowing robes and making magnetic passes and thinking that was all there was to it. We think of that as *suggestion* nowadays. But basically they discovered that by talking to people or by setting up expectations, you can induce some fairly amazing sorts of experiences in a fair number of people. These included just about automatic responses to almost anything you suggest, including things like being intensely aware of certain sensory modalities or being absolutely anesthetic to them. One of the standard tests we use, for instance, is to tell someone they can't smell and then you hold a bottle of ammonia under their nose and say, "Take a good deep breath." They sit there with a blank face if they're a good subject. (It horrifies me every time I see it done, but it works beautifully.) You can induce total analgesia for pain for surgical operations, for instance. You can have people hallucinate. If you tell them there's a polar bear in the corner, they'll see a polar bear in the corner. You can tamper with their memory in

*possibilities of
suggestion*

certain ways so they do not remember' what went on in a hypnotic session or they remember selected parts of it or you can induce false memories of one sort or another. These sorts of things can happen after the hypnotic session, posthypnotically. You can take them back in time so they feel as if they were a child at a certain age level and so forth. And this has quite a few uses in terms of various kinds of psychotherapy, too, not so much as a system all by itself but as an adjunct to various kinds of psychotherapy.

So it's what I might call a very strong phenomenon. It's not one of these things where if you run a hundred subjects you find a slight difference at the .05 level in favor of the hypnosis group. The phenomena are pretty striking.

*power relation
not essential*

It's a funny thing, though. Because when hypnosis was reintroduced into our culture-and I say "reintroduced" because it was dearly known *in* various forms to people before that-when it was reintroduced, it came in pretty much with the group I call the counts and the doctors. That is, the people who were on top in relatively authoritarian societies were the ones who practiced hypnosis and the peasants were the subjects and the patients were the subjects. This led to a certain kind of emphasis on authority, on power, which is still very much with us, but which I suspect is not at all essential to what we know about hypnosis. For instance, if you read older books on hypnosis, you constantly find phrases like "overcoming the subject's will," "bending the subject's will to the hypnotist's desires" and so forth. And I suppose if you're the type who likes to be sort of dependent and have a nice strong man bending your will, that's a groovy trip. But most of us really don't like the idea, at least on a conscious level, of somebody taking over our will that way. So much of its emphasis was on power over people.

In spite of this, hypnosis had a very interesting history. Because it could do so many things, it went through a number of phases, usually in terms of its adoption by the medical profession. These phases would be tremendous acceptance at one point. I mean, "My God, you could say these words and produce all these fantastic phenomena in people and you could cure things!" And so pretty soon everybody knew that hypnosis could cure *everything*. And so it was being used for everything, but it *doesn't* cure everything. And so everybody would get disillusioned and the reaction would swing the other way, and then "Hypnosis! Ahh, that's a lot of bunk. It's just some kind of fake act that stage performers swing on." Hypnosis would go out of favor for another 20 years.

We've had a number of cyclic swings this way where hypnosis is kind of rediscovered, it's overenthusiastically accepted, then it's debunked and it goes out of favor for a long time. We're currently in a stage of a fair amount of acceptance of hypnosis. I'll detail that in a minute.

*cyclic swings
in popularity*

Now, I've talked about these kinds of cycles in terms of hypnosis being used for too many things, to cure everything. But, in point of fact, it's actually more than that. Because while I run with a bunch of people who are the scientists in this field and we talk very scientific language and all that, if you think about it there's a tremendous magical quality to hypnosis and this never ceases to amaze me. It doesn't work well with everybody, but for about 20 percent of people in general it works extremely well. And for these people I can sit down, and in the course of talking to them for half an hour or sometimes less I can change their whole perceptual world. And it really blows my mind to think that I can talk to somebody for a half an hour and tell them Marilyn Monroe is floating through the window, and they really see it. As far as I can tell from anything they say, they really see it. This is a phenomenal change in somebody's experience. *And this smacks very much of magic.* In fact, if you look at a lot of old magical procedures, a lot of the techniques were similar to the kinds of techniques we use in hypnosis now. Now, this is something that isn't discussed very often in modern scientific hypnosis. You know, we're trying to be very respectable and scientific, and we don't fool with that magic crap. I also should have mentioned earlier that ESP was one of the things that was reportedly induced frequently under hypnosis in the old days, but modern respectable hypnotists know there's no such thing as ESP, so they don't try to induce it; so, naturally, they never get any ESP to mess things up.

magic

There's another aspect to the ambivalence of scientists and others about hypnosis. This also fits in with this authoritarian bag. In a sense, the hypnotist acquires a certain amount of God-like power over the subject. He can simply restructure his reality. This attracts a lot of us into the field. I came into it for that. I really dug having all this power over people. I hope I've changed. I'm not sure sometimes, but at least I've got a good set of rationalizations now. Being a hypnotist can be a marvelous ego trip. You can bend men's wills and change their reality and even give them good experiences and that's really an ego trip. A number of charlatans come into hypnosis, of course, because of that. They're not really interested in these intangible goals of helping people or investigat-

*hypnotist
and power*

ing it and so forth. They're more on a pure power trip sort of thing. And then you always have stage demonstrations where the beautiful girl does strange things and the shy boy from town gets up and sings like Elvis Presley. It makes great entertainment. You all laugh and then you think, "Would I want to be hypnotized? I don't know. It's great to see it happen to other people." And then, of course, we have the classic thing of Svcngali and Trilby, the master hypnotist who seduces the innocent young girl. I actually don't know how effective hypnosis is in seducing people. If it does work, those people don't write it up for the journals! It's kind of hard to get objective data on that sort of thing. I'm sure it does work sometimes because, let's face it-Gee, I feel I'm putting women down by saying this-but there're a lot of girls who'd like to say, "Oh, no. I would never do a thing like that, but he overpowered my will and it wasn't my fault at all."

*current
situation
in hypnosis*

Today, we're in a phase of tremendous acceptance of hypnosis. We've got a lot of relatively sophisticated scientific techniques now. The emphasis is pretty much on hypnotic *behavior*, 'what can you see the subject *do* that everyone can agree on? And this has led to a lot of agreement about what goes on instead of depending on verbal reports. We have a couple of professional societies: The Society for Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis and The American Society of Clinical Hypnosis. One of the main purposes of these societies is to exclude the amateurs. You've pretty much got to be an M.D. or a Ph.D. to join. I have ambivalent feelings about that having been an amateur hypnotist in my day and now being one of the professionals who tells the amateurs, "You shouldn't do this." It really is dangerous to a certain *extent*. With most people you never have any problems, but every once in a while you get this lovely psychotic who acts real nice and wants to be hypnotized. And then he has his psychotic break after you hypnotize him, and it's kind of a rough situation. I won't elaborate on that. We have a certain amount of professional certification for people who have some skill in hypnosis. We have some very good measuring instruments for telling how susceptible a person is to hypnosis. I should state that about 10 percent of people react virtually zero to hypnotic procedures. They just don't respond to it. About 20 percent of people will respond to almost anything. We have a couple of major centers at Stanford and at the University of Pennsylvania for researching hypnosis and some kind of sporadic training for mental health professionals who can attend seminars and find out how to use it. This professionalization is good in some ways,

and in a lot of ways we're at a very good place in hypnosis today. People realize the cyclic history and they're trying to put modern hypnosis on a firm enough basis so that we don't have an overenthusiastic response with a consequent bust.

On the other hand, we have a lot of disadvantages in the current hypnosis scene. We have certain kinds of ridiculous things going on. For instance, you've all heard about operational definitions and how great they are in science. You define your concepts by what you do. So now we have some research going on supposedly studying the behavior of hypnotized and nonhypnotized people. And what that means is that if I sit in front of somebody and I say the magic words known as an induction procedure he's hypnotized by operational definition. And if I don't say those words, he's not hypnotized, which, if you've ever worked with hypnosis you know is ridiculous; simply because you say the magic words there's no guarantee that anybody is going to be hypnotized. And, on the other hand, there are some people who are such good hypnotic subjects that if you say, "This is an experiment where you won't be hypnotized . . ." you've nevertheless mentioned the *word*, and they go into a profound trance right away.

*disadvantages
in current scene*

I've mentioned this emphasis on hypnotic *behavior*. For instance, we have scales in which the subject is told to hold his arm out and the hypnotist says, "It's getting heavy, heavy, heavy, heavy, heavy, heavy." Does the arm go down at least 10 inches by the end of this 35-second procedure? If so, he passes the item, which completely ignores the fact that some people are kind of cooperative so they'll sort of put it down. Other people don't feel any heaviness at all, but they feel a compulsion to put it down. All sorts of different experiences can happen all of which result in the arm lowering 10 inches in so many seconds, but you're missing an awful lot. So we've kind of overemphasized behavior.

*overemphasis
on behavior*

Also, there's a great failure to recognize that hypnosis is one of the most flexible states of consciousness known. The subject is extremely sensitive to what you expect from him. So if you have a theory of hypnosis, you can pretty well prove it on your subjects because they'll pick it up and do the right thing. If you're a psychoanalyst, you can always find "regression in the service of the ego" and "primary drives" coming out in hypnosis. If you don't believe in that, you may never see that sort of thing in your laboratory. So, it's too easy to prove particular theories without realizing that basically you have a very flexible kind of state of consciousness.

*extreme
flexibility of
hypnotic state*

emerging trends

And although there's a lot of lip service to a more permissive kind of approach—you know, "I'm here to help you with experiences" and so forth—the old authoritarian game is still there fairly heavily because basically "I'm the professor and you're the student. And you don't know what you're doing, kid, so now we'll do the experiment my way" and so forth. There are emerging trends in hypnosis, though, which I think are going to make the whole thing a more humanistic sort of experience and a more transcendental kind of experience. What I want to do to illustrate this is show a single slide of some research I've been doing that shows how hypnosis can move into a kind of transcendental area. This results from some very intensive work with a single subject that I've been working with for over a year. I might add that this is a particularly gifted subject; you can't expect this from just anyone.

The kind of climate I create in my laboratory for hypnosis is basically, "Look, I do know more than you, but I'm not an authority in the sense that I can program your every bit of behavior. I'm more a guide when it comes to hypnosis. I know how to do certain things that are going to change the state of your mind, but unless you constantly tell me where you're at I'm in the dark; I'm just pushing my line of things." So this is a subject who's quite verbal in telling me what's going on and making suggestions as to how to continue to go about things and so forth, and who's been able to reach some extremely profound states of hypnosis. This guy has also done some meditation on his own and had some psychedelic drug trips in the past, so he has a vocabulary for talking about the sorts of things that happen. I should also explain that hypnosis has a dimension you might call depth or profundity. Subjects in my lab have been taught in this kind of permissive relationship to scale the depth of their hypnotic state and do it kind of intuitively. You don't say, "Now think about all of the things you're experiencing and come up with some complex intellectual concept to describe it," but rather, "Some part of your mind kind of knows where you're at at every moment. Give me an intuitive answer." I won't go into that in detail, but this sort of turns out to be a beautiful kind of way of figuring out where people are at in hypnosis; it relates to all sorts of other things they do.

*transcendental
level of hypnosis*

Now, this is a subject who goes extremely deep, and I'm just briefly going to describe some of the sorts of things he experiences to show you, I think, where hypnosis can go and

ITart, C. Self-report scales of hypnotic depth. *In/em. J, clinical Exp. Hyp.*, 1970, 18, 105-125.

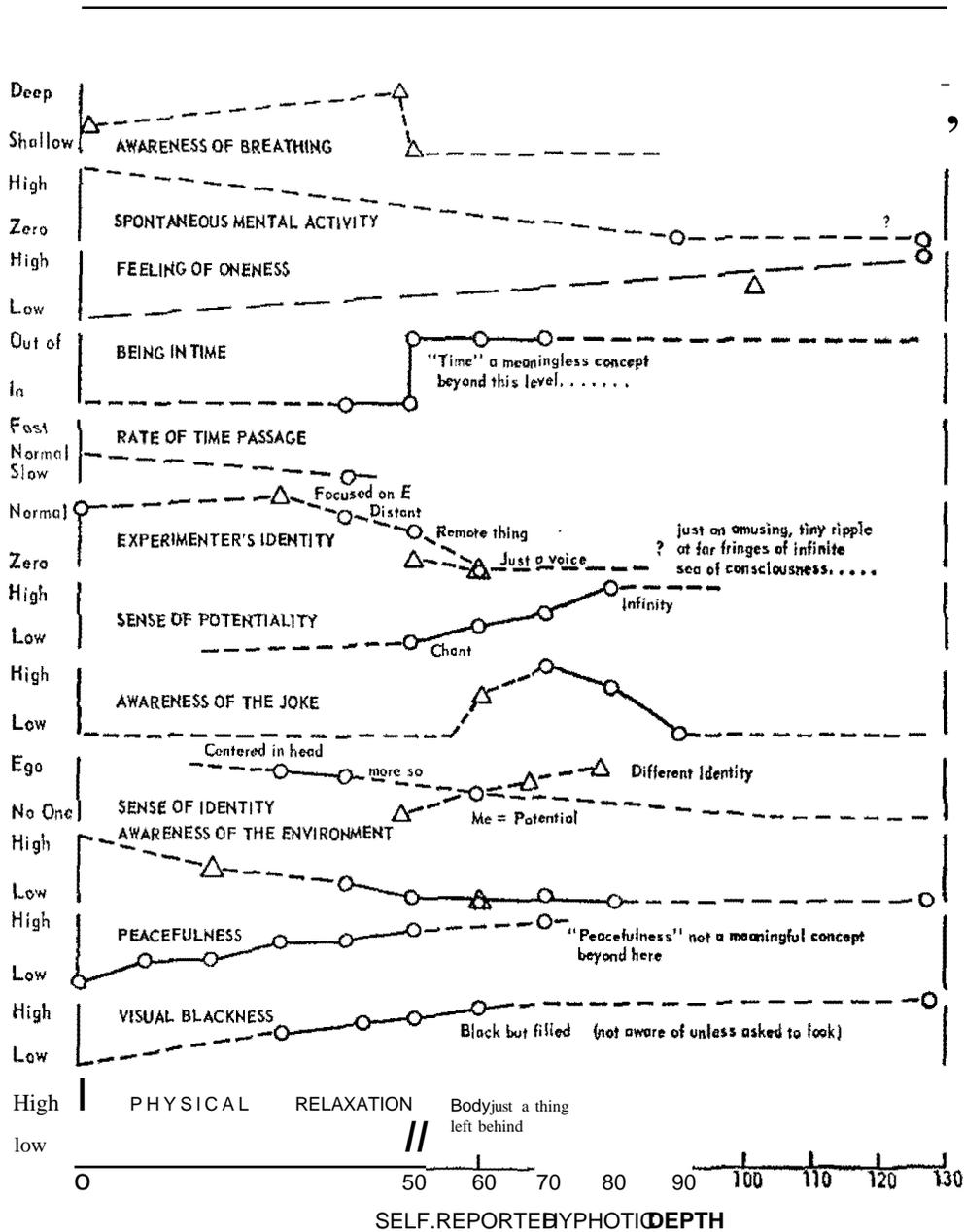


FIGURE 1. The relationship of the intensity of various experiences to self-reported hypnotic depth. (Values marked with a triangle were obtained in the interview before the hypnotic session; values marked with a circle, during the hypnotic session.)

how it can lead into this area that I think could best be described as sort of a transcendental level of hypnosis.

Ordinary hypnosis on this kind of scale would be the region of zero to about 25 on the horizontal axis; as you go down to 30 or 40 on the depth scale, that would be called *deep* hypnosis. When you get down to about 50, that's usually been called extremely profound hypnosis, and, by and large, you don't get any reports from people of what goes on there, which I think is largely a function of the fact that Westerners don't have the vocabulary to talk about what's going on. This fellow has an exceptionally good vocabulary.

I would ask him about his many experiences in hypnosis in various projects in my laboratory (plotted with triangles on the chart) and also run him *into* some very deep hypnosis (plotted with circle). I'd tell him to go deeper and tell me what was going on and ask him about these various things, like "Do you have more or less of that last thing you were experiencing? What's happening with it?" This is an attempt to plot the inner relationships of all these various sorts of things that were going on.

*physical
relaxation*

The first thing plotted at the bottom of the chart is physical relaxation. You can see that this steadily gets higher, except that by the time you get to about 20 on this scale his body feels absolutely relaxed, and after that he says "No, I can't tell you how relaxed I am because my body has reached its limit. It's absolutely relaxed." And in point of fact, by the time you get down to the level of about 50 notice it's not "my body" but "This body is just a thing that's not really of any importance. How can I tell you how relaxed it is? It's not that *important*."

visual blackness

I ask him what he's seeing. At the very beginning he sees a little light and it starts getting blacker. As he goes deeper he sees more and more blackness until he reaches a point very early where it's absolutely black-his eyes are closed, of course. Then it continues to get blacker as he goes deeper and deeper into hypnosis but it's a funny kind of blackness. It's a blackness that's "filled," which sounds like a paradoxical statement but I think some of you who have had psychedelics will realize the kind of thing he's talking about. There are no definite shapes, but it's a blackness that seems full somehow. This kind of plateaus off at around 60 on this scale so that this blackness is simply totally filled but it's absolutely black.

The third line plots feeling of peacefulness. He doesn't feel terribly peaceful when he first starts out in hypnosis, but this fairly rapidly goes up and by the time he gets to around 70 once again peacefulness is no longer a meaningful concept. As you'll see later his whole sense of identity is changed. You know, "I can talk about me being peaceful, but if I don't feel *me* any more how can I talk about whether me is peaceful or not peaceful," or something like that.

peacefulness

His awareness of what's going on around him, the environment, starts out at a normal level; he hears the noises in the hall outside and so forth. It fairly rapidly decreases and, once again, around 50 it reaches a low. As far as he's concerned he might be in the world's best sensory deprivation chamber. There is no physical world environment. He can hear my voice but there's absolutely nothing going on otherwise.

I asked him about his sense of identity at various points. "Who are you?" "What's your identity?" That sort of thing. He starts out as himself, ego, and then his sense of identity tends to become less distributed through his body and more just his head; just sort of a thinking part. And that becomes a little more so and then that begins a kind of dropping out until his ordinary identity-let's call him John Smith-steadily decreases and as he goes deeper into hypnosis John Smith no longer exists. But there is a change taking place in who he is. He becomes more and more identified with a new identity, and that identity is *potential*. He's not anybody in particular; he's potential. He could be this, he could be that. He's aware of identifying with this flux of potentiality that could evolve into many sorts of things.

sense of identity

*identity
experienced
as potential*

The "awareness of the joke" is a hard one to explain. This runs along at zero, he's not aware of the joke, and suddenly around 50 to 60 or 70 he becomes quite aware of the joke and then it fades out. The joke will be recognized by many of you who have had psychedelic drugs. You're starting to get high and somewhere along in there you suddenly realize from some higher part of "yourself" how ridiculous it is to attempt to get high! I mean really, what's the point of trying to find out where it's at, to get high and all that sort of thing? Here's this poor pitiful little ego that doesn't know it's already there trying to get up there! It's kind of funny, but he goes beyond that. The joke fades out after a while as he continues to go further into hypnosis (if it's still "hypnosis").

*awareness of
the joke*

I talked about a sense of potentiality in the identity thing. Here, looking at it in a sort of different way, he eventually

becomes aware of an infinite amount of potential. Anything is possible. Absolutely anything could be experienced in the kind of existence he's in.

*experimenter's
identity*

The experimenter's identity is interesting. I'm just me at the lightest levels of hypnosis; as he goes into what we would call ordinary deep hypnosis he becomes more and more focused on me. I'm the only thing that he really pays strict attention to. But then I start becoming distant and kind of a remote thing and then I lose my identity altogether. I'm no longer Charlie Tart; I'm just a voice: just something that keeps talking. And it not only stays that way but finally he says, as he exists in infinite consciousness, the whole sea of being and so forth, that way out on the edge somewhere here's this little ripple. It keeps asking silly questions like "How do you feel now?" A total depersonalization of who I am but he sort of feels kindly toward this voice. The voice has to ask questions so he'll be nice to me and so forth. Although it's a drag to have to answer them!

being in time

Time is an interesting thing. A lot of times in hypnosis you get people's sense of time slowing down. Here time seems to go slower and slower up to this quite deep hypnosis range of about 40, but then a very interesting thing happens. He suddenly says he can't tell me whether time is going slower or faster because at that point his nature of being in time changes. He's in time here which is slowing, and then he goes out of time and time is a meaningless concept. Beyond this point, queries about his time going fast or slow are stupid questions. They just don't mean anything. He no longer feels that he's in the kind of space-time framework we talk about.

*feeling of
oneness*

A feeling of oneness with the universe continues to go up. I don't know whether it plateaus off at a very deep level or not.

*spontaneous
mental activity*

If I ask you "What are you thinking about?" you'll undoubtedly tell me something going through your mind. We keep the old machine whirling around all the time computing everything that comes along. This spontaneous mental activity continues to decrease as he goes deeper in hypnosis and beyond the deep range he's simply not having any spontaneous thoughts. If I don't tell him "Think about this" or "Answer this question" there's nothing going on in his mind. It's absolutely quiet.

One other thing, his awareness of his breathing; he feels as if his breathing gets deeper and deeper as he goes into hyp-

nosis until there's a point when his breathing suddenly feels as if it becomes quite shallow. Bets virtually not aware of it any more unless this little voice at the edges of consciousness says "How's your breathing?"

*awareness of
breathing*

Now, the point I want to make about this is that up to 40 or so on the graph we're talking about hypnosis, and we're talking about a rather neutral kind of hypnosis. I haven't suggested particular things. These are just the kinds of things he usually experiences as he's going into deep hypnosis. In a higher range, roughly 50 to 70, a lot of these kinds of phenomena change fairly suddenly. There's some step function: some of these things start going up or down rather suddenly. And I think what we have here is a transition to a new state of consciousness. In many ways it sounds like what's traditionally been called the Void. I'm a little leery of using that word because the Void is a great thing to be in, and you get a lot of prestige and all that sort of spiritual one-upmanship. But it kind of sounds like the Void. His identity is potentiality, he's aware of everything and nothing, his mind is absolutely quiet, he's out of time, out of space and so forth. But this is the sort of thing that happens to him.

*new state of
consciousness*

Now I should again emphasize that this is an extremely good S**U**bject. This is not something that the average hypnotic subject could just move right into, although probably more subjects could move into it if they were given special training. The main thing that I want to emphasize is that I think this illustrates first the humanistic potential of hypnosis, where the experimenter-subject relationship changes: I'm no longer the boss shaping his consciousness to do what I think he ought to do, I'm just sort of the guide and he's the one who does this sort of thing. But even more it illustrates some of the transcendental potentialities of hypnosis: how you can use this to move to relatively profound states of consciousness; you can use it to explore consciousness; and we can open up a number of things that ordinarily you don't think of in connection with hypnosis where the usual association is the big authority figure who says "Sleep."

*transcendental
potentialities
of hypnosis*

Originally Bill Harman asked us to talk a little bit about how science fits the new humanism, and some of the previous remarks can serve as a springboard for a little bit of sermon on why we shouldn't throw science out the window. When I think about science, I think it's a game that's got two basic rules. The first is that you must look at what's observable. Let's skip for a minute what "observable" means. The second is that you can speculate on anything you want-you can

*the science
game*

intuit, you can think-with the provision that the outcome of your thinking always has to come back to what's observable. So, for instance, you read all these philosophical arguments about whether mind and body constitute a duality or mind and body constitute a unity. Well, I don't know how you could really observe anything that would really make up your mind so that argument is out of the science game. But anything that comes back to something that's observable is basically scientific. Unfortunately in the history of science we picked up a third thing that isn't really part of the basic rules but such a strong prejudice that we get tangled up in it, and that's a prejudice that if you can talk about it in terms of *matter* it's somehow better. Like being able to talk about how a metal diaphragm moves in this microphone I'm holding is really *hard* data while talking about why I say what I say, that's kind of soft and humanistic and all that sort of thing-not really scientific. But I don't buy this prejudice. If you can bring things back to observables you're within the realm of science, which is really a game where you can check out your ideas by being able to observe something.

I think we can expand the scientific framework to take in most of the humanistic phenomena, maybe all. For instance if I say that by a certain kind of Yoga breathing exercise I can reach a state of ecstasy, that is basically a scientifically testable statement. I've said, here's a condition: you breathe in a certain way. Here's an observable outcome: somebody says "I've got this kind of an ecstatic experience." Now in our current stage of the game that's not a very good statement because I think for that example clearly there's something else besides the breathing exercise *per se*. You might have to be a certain type of person and you might have to have done a few other things. But it's possible to find out what those things are and what kind of people they are, and then you can test the basic idea. It might turn out that it's the breathing exercise plus this certain kind of attitude or something like that. Thus you don't have to refer back to a material object particularly in order to make things scientific. All you have to say is "I can specify certain kinds of experiential things or psychological things and you come up with a certain kind of outcome." Given that, you can use the kind of powerful advantage that you get from science; namely being able to know or investigate something on a broader basis than your own experiences which are subject to God knows how many biases and early training factors and so forth. You can make a science out of this area of the humanistic and the transpersonal. I think a lot of the things we've heard about today begin to do

this. For example, Wally Pahnke talks about psychedelic peak experiences. I don't think there's any behavioral criterion for psychedelic peak experiences. It doesn't mean the fingers twitch in a certain pattern! It means people talk about certain kinds of things which form an entity that we conceptualize as this, and then he can meaningfully talk about certain kinds of conditions that lead up to this sort of thing and other conditions which seem to be inimicable for it. And I think we're very definitely moving into a kind of scientific study of this without killing it off. You know, the old approach was that you had to explain it in terms of a chemical change in the brain because "That's matter. That's real whereas what somebody says isn't." And I think we're past that stage, and I feel very good about what's going to happen with scientific study of altered states of consciousness and peak experiences and so forth.

*scientific study
of humanistic
and
transpersonal
areas*

I've been asked to comment on the fact that verbal report or what somebody says he's experiencing may be very unreliable in hypnosis, particularly. It's quite clear you can make it unreliable if that's what you're looking for. One of the most interesting things in psychology today is something that's called "demand characteristics" or "experimenter bias." If you've got a strong personality and you're out to prove a theory, it's very easy to influence subjects to do what you want. Look: you come in for an experiment. My God! You're working for science and science is a noble enterprise and you want to do it *right*. You don't want the experiment to fail and all that so you're sort of cooperative on all sorts of levels. And here's the authority figure, "Herr Doctor Professor," who's giving you all sorts of cues about how the "normal" subject behaves in this sort of situation. And if you think verbal report is unreliable, you can communicate this to your subjects and get unreliable reports. If you think it's reliable and go to some pains to be careful you're not forcing answers, you usually find you get verbal reports that relate to other things much better. At the moment a lot of this is an art. It is kind of hard to specify exactly how you do this.

*«experimenter
bias»*

The tradition in psychology is that it's sort of a disadvantage that people can talk. If they were only like rats and could just push levers, you could have nice hard data and we could be closer to the physicist (or the physicists of the eighteenth century!). "Wow, wouldn't that be hard science!" and all that sort of thing. I don't believe we have to be stuck with this. We have to change the *model* of science in psychology. It's not like the physicist who wants to know

*need for
change in model
of science in
psychology*

how fast objects accelerate under gravity, so he arranges to drop them from different heights on a platform and measures it. In physics you can really ignore his presence, assuming he's not blind or something and can read his instruments accurately. He's pretty much out of it. You ask a person to jump off that platform, and it's *not* just a passive object where the experimenter doesn't matter. The experimenter is part of the experiment now.

*problem of
specifying
characteristics of
experimenter*

This is going to be one of the most crucial things in this whole area of studying altered states of consciousness; the experimenter is *not* removed from the experiment. Now this may mean that "any competent scientist" can't replicate an experiment. As part of specifying how you get something to happen, you have to specify the characteristics of the experimenter. The classic example is the whole thing with psychedelic drugs. It was introduced as a psychotomimetic. Psychiatrists who were used to looking at pathologies started experimenting, and they thought: "Wow! What a fantastic intervention we're making into somebody's psyche! We'll have a couple of orderlies standing by here, and we've got to get ready with a syringe full of tranquilizer just in case they freak out." And it worked. These drugs *were* psychotomimetics. You got an immense number of psychotic reactions. Because people picked this up. They know "Jesus. Wow. This is terrible what's happening." And then a few experimenters got kind of relaxed with it and communicated somehow "This is going to be a groovy experience." And what happened to the psychotomimetic? It disappeared. The experimenter is very much a part of the experiment.

I should mention one other thing on this, too. A lot of people have tried to get around the problem of experimenter bias by dehumanizing the experiments. At the ultimate, the subject reports to a room at a certain time and a tape recorder says so and so and a machine does everything. That hasn't taken the experimenter out. That's created a special climate all by itself. You're supposed to be impersonal and not have certain kinds of emotional feelings and so forth. You can't do it. We have to learn to specify how the experimenter is a part of the experiment to deal with these important human experiences.